

Tanoan Studies: Passive Sentences in Picuris

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Picuris is one of the two Northern Tiwa languages in the Tanoan family.¹ It is the language spoken by members of the Picuris Pueblo, a small group of Native Americans living about 45 miles north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The author has studied Picuris since 1973.

In her dissertation (1977), the author identified the essential components of the passive construction: pronominal prefix, verb base, passive marker, and tense aspect suffix. It was also posited that the prefix correlated sentence subject with sentence object. In the present paper, subsequent work on passive sentences has been summarized. It is now seen that in some cases the prefix may correlate sentence subject with sentence indirect object and by examining the relationships between passive sentences and their active counterparts, it has been determined that specific conditions dictate the use of active or passive sentences. Unlike English, this use is not stylistically determined.

The choice of data and terminology used in this paper are in direct response to concerns voiced by participants at past Kiowa-Tanoan conferences.² Scholars at these meetings have expressed a uniform interest in syntax and have focused much of their attention on the analysis of passive sentences. However, there is considerable concern that statements for the passive in Tanoan continue to be tentative and general. Two factors have been identified as retarding progress in this area. These are the lack of comparable data for the several languages and the use of theoretically-specific terminology in analytical statements. By the latter it is meant that analyses are often presented in terminology which researchers must "translate" into familiar terminology before proceeding with their comparative studies.

For the sake of comparability, Picuris equivalents are used in this paper for the sentences Allen and Gardiner (1980) analyzed in their Relational Grammar study of the passive in Isletan Tiwa. It should be noted that the terminology used in the discussion below is intended to make the Picuris analysis immediately available for comparative purposes, not requiring "translation".

Picuris Passive

A comparison of sentences (1) and (2) indicates significant similarities between Picuris actives and passives and their English counterparts.

- (1) sənene Ø-ɿiw-mən-'an.
The man saw the lady.
- (2) ɿiwene Ø-mən-mia-'an sənene-pa.
The lady was seen by the man.

Sentence (1), the active, and sentence (2), the passive, are logically equivalent despite certain syntactic differences in surface structure. The differences which distinguish the passives from the actives are roughly parallel and consist of an inversion of the noun phrases, insertion of an agent marker, and changes in the predicate. Specifically, in Picuris, sənene in (1) is unflagged, while in (2) it is flagged by the clitic, or post-position, -pa. The noun ɿiw in (1) is incorporated into the verb construction, while ɿiwene in (2) is independent. There is also a difference in verb morphology between the two sentences; mia occurs in (2), but not in (1). Finally, it will be shown from data referring to first and second persons that the verb prefixes in the passive sentences are from a different set. Each of these points warrants further elaboration.

Nominal Flagging

Many languages mark agents in passive sentences with the same marker used to indicate instrument. The -pa which marks agent in (2) is the same clitic which marks instrument in Picuris, as sentences (3) and (4) indicate.

- (3) (na) ti-xwa-te khun-pa.
I hit him with a shoe.
- (4) (na) ta-xwa-tia-'an khun-pa.
I was hit with a shoe.

However, it must be noted that -pa never marks the subject in a Picuris sentence. Attempts to elicit forms such as that in (5) were rejected as ungrammatical.

- (5) *sənene-pa Ø-ɿiw-mən-'an.
(The man saw the lady.)

The occurrence of -pa with sənene in (2), therefore, gives evidence that sənene-pa is something other than the subject of the passive sentence.

Noun Incorporation

A Picuris noun as subject is never incorporated into the verb complex. A noun occurs in absolute form as base with accompanying morphemic suffix which classifies it as belonging to one of three classes --A, B, or C. In sentence (6) the sentence subject, ɿiwene, occurs with its morphemic suffix -ne indicating that it belongs to Noun Class A. Sentence (7) is ungrammatical because the base for lady, ɿiw, is incorporated into the verb complex.

- (6) $\text{liwene } \emptyset\text{-me-}'\text{an.}$
The lady went.

- (7) $*\emptyset\text{-liw-me-}'\text{an.}$
(The lady went.)

On the other hand, a Picuris noun as direct object can be incorporated into the verb complex, as examples (8) and (9) illustrate.

- (8) $\text{liwene } \emptyset\text{-sən-mən-}'\text{an.}$
The lady saw the man.

- (9) $\text{sənene } \emptyset\text{-liw-mən-}'\text{an.}$
The man saw the lady.

The fact that the subject cannot be incorporated into the verb complex suggests why sentence (5) is rejected as ungrammatical. Sentence (10) is also rejected as ungrammatical for the same reason, despite the fact that in this instance the passive marker mia also occurs.

- (10) $*\text{sənene-pa } \emptyset\text{-liw-mən-mia-}'\text{an.}$
(The lady was seen by the man.)

Because sənene is flagged by -pa, it cannot function as subject, which would then leave the other noun, liwene, to fill that position. However, in (5) and (10), liw is incorporated into the verb complex and as such can function only as object. Therefore, we are left without a noun to fill subject position, a position that is required by both the verb prefix specification and by the semantics of the verb complex. Thus, (5), (7) and (10) must be rejected as ungrammatical. A comparison of (10) with (2), then, leads to the conclusion that liwene is the subject of the passive sentence in (2).

Verb Morphology

Consider now sentences (11) - (14).

- (11) $\emptyset\text{-mən-}'\text{an.}$
pre-base-suf
He saw him.
- (12) $\emptyset\text{-mən-mia-}'\text{an.}$
pre-base-PASS-suf
He was seen.
- (13) $\emptyset\text{-xwā-tē.}$
pre-base-suf
He hit him.
- (14) $\emptyset\text{-xwā-tia-}'\text{an.}$
pre-base-PASS-suf
He was hit.

It is clear that (12) differs from (11) because of the occurrence of mia in its verb stem. Likewise, (14) differs from (13) because of the presence of tia. Both of these morphs mark passive in these examples. Note the different past tense suffixes in (11) and (13). Preliminary analysis suggests that there are a number of different verb classes in the language, each of which requires a different past tense suffix when the indicative mood is expressed in an active sentence. In passive sentences, it appears that the passive marker instead of the verbal suffix distinguishes these verb classes, hence the variation in passive markers.

Passive Prefixes

Examples (15) - (20) indicate that the verb prefix marks a distinction between singular, dual, and plural for the surface-level subject in passive sentences.

- (15) ta-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
I was seen by the man.
- (16) 'a-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
You were seen by the man.
- (17) 'aṇ-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
We (du) were seen by the man.
- (18) 'i-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
We (pl) were seen by the man.
- (19) mṇ-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
You (du) were seen by the man.
- (20) mṇ-møn-mia-'aṇ sənene-pa.
You (pl) were seen by the man.

If sentences (15) - (20) are compared, in sequence, with the intransitive sentences (21) - (26), it can be seen that the intransitive prefixes are identical to those used in passive verb constructions.

- (21) ta-me-'aṇ.
I went.
- (22) 'a-me-'aṇ.
You went.
- (23) 'aṇ-me-'aṇ.
We (du) went.
- (24) 'i-me-'aṇ.
We (pl) went.

(25) mən-me-'ən.
You (du) went.

(26) mǎ-me-'ən.
You (pl) went.

When these prefixes occur in intransitive sentences, such as (21) - (26), or in passive sentences, such as (15) - (20), they indicate the person and number of the subject, making a distinction between singular, dual, and plural for all three persons.

Verb Agreement

If a sentence in Picuris contains two nouns (or pronouns), then the semantic content of the verb prefix specifies the person and number of the subject and the noun class of the object. Sentences (27) - (29) provide some examples of these transitive verb prefixes.

(27) ti-chon-pay-'ən.
I made a shirt. (Class A)

(28) ta-chon-pay-'ən.
I made shirts. (Class C)

(29) pi-xin-pay-'ən.
I made a hat. (Class B)

By holding constant the person and number of the subject, it is apparent from examples (27) - (29) that the verb prefix varies with the class of the object. Likewise, by holding constant the object, it is possible to see how the prefix varies in relation to the person and number of the chosen subject. Because "shirts" belongs to Noun Class C, the prefixes employed must come from the set of prefixes which correlate person and number of the subject with Class C objects. Sentences (30) - (34) provide some examples of these forms.

(30) ta-chon-towe-'ən.
I bought shirts.

(31) (nǎ) kan-chon-towe-'ən.
We (du) bought shirts.

(32) (nǎ) ku-chon-towe-'ən.
We (pl) bought shirts.

(33) ('əwən) 'ən-chon-towe-'ən.
They (du) bought shirts.

(34) 'u-chon-towe-'ən.
They (pl) bought shirts.

These sentences also demonstrate that the prefixes mark a singular, dual, plural distinction for subject.

Now consider sentences (35) - (38).

(35) ti-møn-'a₁n.
I saw him/her.

(36) 'a-møn-'a₁n.
You saw him/her.

(37) may-møn-'a₁n.
You saw me.

(38) (nə) 'a-møn-'a₁n.
I saw you.

These four sentences are slightly different from those in (30) - (34). Object position is filled in each of them by a pronoun referring to persons rather than to inanimate objects. Because all terms referring to singular persons are found in Class A, we would expect the same prefix to occur in (35) and (38) and a different one to occur in (36) and (37). This is clearly not the case. What we do find is that (35) and (36) do contain the prefixes expected for the persons and numbers of the subjects with Class A objects. However, (37) and (38) contain prefixes which occur in an altogether different set. This other set of prefixes is used when reference is made to non-third person objects. Consider sentences (39) - (44).

(39) 'a-møn-'a₁n.
I saw you.

(40) 'a-møn-'a₁n.
We (2) saw you.

(41) pən-møn-'a₁n.
I saw you (du).

(42) pən-møn-'a₁n.
We (pl) saw you (du).

(43) pi-møn-'a₁n.
I saw you (pl).

(44) pi-møn-'a₁n.
We (pl) saw you (pl).

Sentences (39), (41), and (43) demonstrate that the verb prefix distinguishes object number. However, a comparison of (39) with (40), (41) with (42), and (43) with (44) shows that subject number is not indicated in these sentences. When non-third person objects occur in sentences

such as these, it appears that prefix specification is the reverse of that for third person objects. With non-third person objects, the prefix specifies person and number for the object and person without number distinction for the subject.

Returning now to third-person objects, consider sentences (45) - (48).

(45) p̄an-ɬiw-m̄on-'ān wese.
They (du) saw two ladies.

(46) p̄an-ɬiw-m̄on-'ān p'anu.
They (du) saw five ladies.

(47) pi-ɬiw-m̄on-'ān wese.
They (pl) saw two ladies.

(48) pi-ɬiw-m̄on-'ān p'anu.
They (pl) saw five ladies.

Even though the object in each of these sentences refers to persons, the prefixes do not mark the dual/plural distinction for object as they did for person objects in (39) - (44). What seems to set sentences (45) - (48) apart from those in (39) - (44) is that the object is third person. As third person objects, they are recognized as members of the class to which they are assigned by virtue of their morphemic suffixes -- Class A if singular and Class B if non-singular. Whether the object is "two ladies", "five ladies", or "fifty ladies", it does not matter for in their non-singular form, they are all included in Noun Class B and assigned the prefix which correlates person and number of subject with Class B nouns.

Necessary Passive

Sentences (1) and (2) provide evidence that the passive is optional when both the subject and direct object are third person. However, when sentences containing third person subjects and first or second person objects are elicited, such as English "The man saw me," and "The man saw you", sentences (15) and (16), repeated below, are given.

(15) ta-m̄on-mia-'ān s̄enene-pa.
I was seen by the man.

(16) 'a-m̄on-mia-'ān s̄enene-pa.
You were seen by the man.

From these examples it can be seen that s̄enene "man" is flagged with the clitic -pa while the verb morphology is the same as for other passives. Attempts to elicit active counterparts of (15) and (16) were unsuccessful, as were attempts to elicit passive constructions such as (49) and (50).

(49) *s̄enene Ø-m̄on-mia-'ān n̄a-pa.
(The man was seen by me.)

- (50) *sənene Ø-møn-mia-'an 'e-pa.
(The man was seen by you.)

However, a few Picuris speakers offered (51) and (52) as corrections.

- (51) sənene ti-møn-'an.
or ti-sən-møn-'an.
I saw the man.

- (52) sənene 'a-møn-'an. or 'a-sən-møn-'an.
You saw the man.

The same was true for sentences containing first and second person subjects and objects. In the sentences below, (53) was considered unacceptable, corrected, and given as (54) and (55) was corrected to (56).

- (53) *ta-møn-mia-'an 'e-pa.
(I was seen by you.)

- (54) ('e) may-møn-'an.
You saw me.

- (55) *'a-møn-mia-'an nā-pa.
(You were seen by me.)

- (56) (nā) 'a-møn-'an.
I saw you.

Taking into account all of the above data, it is possible to suggest the following rules:

- a. When subject and object are both third person, passive is optional.
- b. When subject is third person and object is non-third person, passive is required.
- c. When subject and object are both non-third person, passive is not possible.
- d. When subject is non-third person and object is third person, passive is not possible.

Indirect Objects

When subject, object and indirect object occur in a sentence, the prefix correlates subject and indirect object. The object is not specified by the prefix. However, the base of the noun object is usually found incorporated into the verb complex.

- (57) nā ti-ʔu-ʔu-me I gave him an arrow. (B object)

- (58) nā ti-ʔu-ʔu-me. I gave arrows to him. (C object)

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|------|-------------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| (59) | nə ti-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave a dog to him. | (A object) |
| (60) | nə ti-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave dogs to him. | (B object) |
| (61) | nə pi-khun-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave a shoe to them (2). | (B object) |
| (62) | nə pi-khun-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave shoes to them (2). | (C object) |
| (63) | nə pi-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave a dog to them (2). | (A object) |
| (64) | pi-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave dogs to them (2). | (B object) |
| (65) | pi-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave a dog to them (3+). | (A object) |
| (66) | pi-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave dogs to them (3+). | (B object) |
| (67) | pi-p'am-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave a flower to them (3+). | (B object) |
| (68) | pi-p'am-ɬu-mɛ. | I gave flowers to them (3+). | (C object) |

Sentences (57) - (60) contain objects from Noun Classes A, B, and C, but employ the ti- prefix because all four sentences contain the same subjects and indirect objects. The same holds for sentences (61) - (68) except that pi- is the prefix. Notice that in (65) - (68) the prefix remains the same despite the fact that there is a number change for the indirect object. This is true because the transitive prefixes required in these instances correlate person and number of subject and class of indirect object. All non-singular persons are included in Class B. Therefore, a number distinction is not required and the same prefix is used for dual and plural indirect objects. Sentences of this type appear only in the active form with transitive prefixes.

If the indirect object is first or second person and the subject is third, then the intransitive set of verb prefixes must be used. These prefixes specify person and number of the indirect object. Sentences of this type occur only in passive form, as examples (69) - (71) demonstrate.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|
| (69) | ta-mosa-ɬu-mia-ən. | He gave me a cat. |
| (70) | ta-mosa-ɬu-mia-'ən. | He gave cats to me. |
| (71) | 'a-mosa-ɬu-mia-'ən. | He gave you a cat. |

If both the indirect object and the subject are third person, then either the passive or the active forms may occur. If passive, as before, the intransitive forms specify person and number for the indirect object -- see (72) - (74). If active, the transitive verb prefixes specify person and number for subject and class of object, with Class A forms for

singular indirect objects and Class B forms for non-singular indirect objects -- see (75).

- (72) Ø-kwɪn-ɬu-mia-'an.
He gave a dog to him.
- (73) 'an-ɬu-ɬu-mia-'an.
He gave arrows to them (du).
- (74) i-ɬu-ɬu-mia-'an.
He gave arrows to them (pl).
- (75) i-ɬu-ɬu-mɛ.
He gave arrows to them.

If the indirect object is first or second person and the subject is first or second person, then another set of transitive prefixes is used which specify person and number for the indirect object, but only person for the subject. Consider (76) - (78). These sentences occur only in active form.

- (76) 'a-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ.
I gave a dog to you.
- (77) paŋ-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ.
I gave a dog to you (2).
- (78) pi-kwɪn-ɬu-mɛ.
I gave a dog to you (pl).

In fact, if sentences (76) - (78) are compared with sentences (39), (41), and (43), it is apparent that the two sets of prefixes are identical. In other words there is only one set of verbal prefixes which specifies the correlation between non-third person subjects and non-third person objects or indirect objects.

Summary

In the Picuris language both active and passive sentences occur. Passive constructions are identified as verb constructions with the structure

pronominal prefix - (incorporated noun object) - verb base -
passive marker - tense aspect suffix.

Comparing Picuris passive sentences to active ones shows further that in passive sentences there is an inversion of the noun phrases, insertion of an agent marker, and changes in the predicate. The predicate changes include the insertion of a passive marker, the use of another set of prefixes, and, in some cases, the use of a different tense aspect suffix. In

addition, under certain conditions, the incorporated noun object in an active sentence is deleted from the verb complex and occurs in absolute form in its passive counterpart. An incorporated noun may serve as object only, never as subject.

The intransitive set of verb prefixes (SET I)³ is used when an agent is unspecified or in passive verb constructions. These prefixes indicate the person and number of the sentence subject (object in the active counterpart) and make a distinction between singular, dual, and plural for all three persons.

If a sentence in Picuris contains two nouns (or pronouns) - one as subject (agent) and one as object - then the transitive set of prefixes (SET II)⁴ is used. The semantic content of these verb prefixes specifies the person and number of the subject (agent) and the noun class of the object - either A, B, or C. Again, these prefixes mark a singular, dual, plural distinction for all three persons for subject. These prefixes are found in active sentences only and obligatorily encode a third person object.

However, if both subject (agent) and object refer to either first or second person, then another set of verb prefixes must be used. With non-third person objects, these prefixes (SET III)⁵ specify person and number for the object and person without number distinction for the subject. These prefixes occur only in active sentences.

When subject, object, and indirect object occur in a sentence, the indirect object serves as direct object for purposes of correlation and specification. Hence, in these instances, the prefix correlates subject (agent) with indirect object. The noun object is not specified by the prefix. However, in these sentences, the base of the noun object is usually found incorporated in the verb complex.

If the indirect object is third person and the subject is first or second person, then the transitive verb prefixes, SET II, are used. These prefixes specify person and number for subject and class for indirect object. Thus, sentences with first or second person subjects and third person singular indirect objects would employ the Class A forms. Sentences with first or second person subjects and third person dual or plural indirect objects would employ the Class B forms. These sentences would appear only in the active form.

If the indirect object is first or second person and the subject is first or second person, then another set of transitive prefixes is used, SET III, and the resulting sentences occur only in active form. The prefixes specify person and number for the indirect object, but only person for the subject. The prefixes used in this instance are the same as those used for the correlation of first or second person subjects with first or second person direct objects. Whenever the subject is second person and the object (either direct or indirect) is first person, the required pre-

fix is may-. If the subject is first person and the indirect or direct object is second person, then the prefix specifies the person and number of the indirect or direct object and person only for the subject.

If the indirect object is first or second person and the subject is third person, then the intransitive set of verb prefixes, SET I, must be used. These prefixes specify the person and number of the indirect object, and the indirect object serves as sentence subject. These sentences occur only in passive form.

If both the indirect object and the subject are third person, then either the active or passive forms may occur. If passive, the intransitive forms occur specifying person and number for the indirect object. As such, the indirect object serves as subject in the passive sentences. If active, the transitive verb prefixes are used and specify person and number for subject and class of object with Class A forms for singular, third person, indirect objects and Class B forms for non-singular, third person, indirect objects.

The Picuris data and analysis make it clear that there are conditions which determine when passive can and cannot be used. These conditions concern the hierarchical ranking of persons in the language and the effect this ranking has on the well-formedness of active and passive sentences. First and second persons act upon third persons, but the reverse is not true. Active (transitive) prefixes, SET II, obligatorily encode a third person object and thus cannot be used in sentences with first or second person direct or indirect objects. Hence, sentences with first or second person indirect or direct objects and third person subjects must be realized as passive. Thus, it is possible, in most instances, to state precisely when active and passive sentences will occur in Picuris. Specifically,

- when subject and indirect or direct object are both non-third person, active sentences will occur and passive is not possible.
- when subject is non-third person and indirect or direct object is third person, active sentences will occur and passive is not possible.
- when subject is third person and indirect or direct object is non-third person, passive is required.
- when subject and indirect or direct object are both third person, either active or passive sentences will occur, i.e. passive is optional.

These rules which specify when passive sentences can and cannot occur indicate the near-complementary nature, syntactically and semantically, of active and passive sentences in Picuris. Consequently, the complementary interrelationship of Picuris active and passive sentences is in contrast with the stylistic interrelationship of English active and passive sentences.

Relational Grammar and the Picuris Passive

The preceding discussion presents a number of generalizations regarding active and passive sentences in Picuris. At this point a number of questions can be formulated. Why are there three different sets of prefixes employed? Why do the prefixes vary in their specification of person and number for subject, object, or indirect object in various types of sentences? Why do the prefixes correlate different noun positions in such sentences? Why in some cases do the prefixes specify only person and number of a sentence noun while in other cases such specification is correlated with the noun class or person specification of a second sentence noun? Is there a theory that can explain or account for these observations or, better still, predict them?

It is beyond the scope of this paper to answer these questions. However, it appears that the answers may be found in the theory of Relational Grammar, as presented in Perlmutter and Postal (1977). For example, the three "term" relations--subject-of, object-of, and indirect object-of--speak directly to the description of the Picuris passive and to the analysis of prefix correlation. The Law of Stratal Uniqueness claiming that no two nominals may bear the same term relation to a verb in the same stratum explains why the subject of the active sentence cannot be specified as the subject of the passive sentence, assuming that for Picuris marking on the verb is determined by grammatical relations at the same syntactic level, in this case, the final level. Further, a rule which advances the indirect object to direct object position, thereby placing the former direct object *en chômeage*, can explain why in these sentences containing subject, direct object, and indirect object, the prefix correlates subject with indirect object and there is no direct object specification in the prefix.⁶ Finally, the Relational Grammar characterization (Perlmutter and Postal 1977) of Passive as a rule which creates intransitive clauses out of transitive ones explains why the intransitive verb prefixes are used in the person marking for passive verbs in Picuris, under the assumption made above that the final syntactic level is the one relevant for the determination of verb marking. These and other explanations derived from the theory of Relational Grammar, or from other theoretical perspectives, can aid our understanding of passive and active sentences in Picuris--once the data are made available and descriptive analyses provided.

Footnotes

¹ The Tanoan family is divided into four subgroups: Kiowa, Tiwa, Tewa, and Towa. Tiwa is further subdivided into Northern Tiwa, spoken at Taos and Picuris and Southern Tiwa, spoken at Sandia and Isleta.

² The first annual conference was organized by Zaharlick and held in Albuquerque, N.M., June 15-16, 1979. At the 1980 conference, it was determined that there was no reason to distinguish Kiowa from the other Tanoan languages as depicted in the designation "Kiowa-Tanoan". Therefore, in the remainder of this paper, "Tanoan" will be used in place of "Kiowa-Tanoan".

³ SET I Prefixes

1	singular	ta-
	dual	'an-
	plural	'i-
2	singular	'a-
	dual	man-
	plural	ma-
3	singular	ø-
	dual	'an-
	plural	'i-

These prefixes have accompanying high tone.

⁴ SET II Prefixes

Subject		Object of Class		
		A	B	C
1	sg.	ti-	pi-	ta-
	du.	'an-	pan-	ko-
	pl.	'i-	pi-	'o-
2	sg.	'a-	'i-	kam-
	du.	man-	pan-	man-
	pl.	ma-	pi-	'am-
3	sg.	ø-	'i-	ku-
	du.	'an-	pan-	mu-
	pl.	'i-	pi-	'u-

⁵ SET III Prefixes (Partial listing)

Non - Third Direct or Indirect Objects

Subject	1 sg.	du.	pl.	2 sg.	du.	pl.
1	sg.			'a-	pan-	pi-
	du.			'a-	pan-	pi-
	pl.			'a-	pan-	pi-
2	sg.	may-	may-			
	du.	may-	may-			
	pl.	may-	may-			
3	sg.			'a-	man-	ma-
	du.			'a-	man-	ma-
	pl.			'a-	man-	ma-

⁶ An identical rule is found in the analysis of passive in Plains Cree (Jolley 1981).

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